

Enclavisation of Tourism: Special Tourism Zones (STZs) in India¹

EQUATIONS

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Globally, enclavisation in tourism arose from the need to create exclusive centres of tourism that are safe investments and that which ensures a steady flow of income across all seasons. But, studies show that the intense resource usage by tourism establishments, the resultant environmental pollution, widened income inequalities, displacement of people and socio-cultural effects are some of the adverse impacts associated with tourism enclaves around the world. Economically, these enclaves end up giving little to "host" communities as they wait endlessly for a share of the tourist spending to 'trickle down' to them.

While India was witnessing widespread protests against the Special Economic Zones (SEZ) Act 2005, the National Tourism Advisory Council (NTAC), a think tank under the Ministry of Tourism, floated in November 2006 the proposal of establishing Special Tourism Zones (STZs). This paper argues against the establishment of STZs and substantiates its arguments through cases of the nation's past experience with tourism enclavisation, examples of states currently pursuing STZs and the impacts of tourism development through STZs and SEZs.

In their insightful book "Seductions of Place", editors Alan Lew and Carolyn Cartier provide a useful interpretation on "touristed landscapes²" which could be our starting point to understand enclavisation in tourism.

"Tourism as a phenomenon and set of processes has increasingly become embedded, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in the relationship between modernity and place, in how places are created and how they are experienced."

The statement embodies the reality of how processes in the modern world have created the demand for tourism and leisure products that are fundamentally transforming the places people live in. Modernity and the economic processes that are supporting such a demand are also simultaneously dictating the form and pace of such tourism developments. Globally, the process of enclavisation in tourism has been a result of the need to create exclusive centres of tourism. Enclaves are also often viewed as safe investments, which would ensure a steady, continuous and reliable, flow of income from tourism through all seasons. However, enclavisation exploits local resources but gives back little benefit to the local economy.

This paper argues against the new SEZ Policy of the Government of India and the proposals for setting up of STZs through which it will promote the enclavisation of tourism in India by valorising and converting lands, landscapes and common property into islands of leisure. It examines the renewed impetus that India's SEZ policy has given for the creation of "tourism enclaves" – a model of tourism development that has been fought and rejected by many communities around the world.

Brief History of Enclavisation of Tourism around the World

A historical analysis of enclavisation in tourism takes us back to the mid-1960s when post World War II, the process of de-colonisation was gaining strength globally. The economic revival of erstwhile colonial powers in Western Europe and the emergence of new economic powers like the US and Japan created a class of people with high disposable incomes that simultaneously generated high demand for leisure and holidays. In this scenario, countries across Asia, Africa, the Middle East and South America that had formerly been colonies and had now gained their political but not their economic freedom became ideal locations for creating tourism enclaves to specially satisfy the leisure needs of Western tourists. The historic link that erstwhile colonial powers had with their former colonies could have been a possible cultural impetus for creation of tourism enclavisation. This process was abetted by liberal loans by international financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF to newly independent countries for creating such enclaves on the argument that tourism growth would create jobs and bring in much-needed investment into these nascent economies. Thus, the first tourism enclaves of the world were built in Kenya, Egypt, Gambia, Caribbean Islands like Jamaica, Barbados, the Dominican Republic and St Lucia; Mexico, Indonesia, Tunisia, Morocco, Tanzania to cater to tourists from Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Germany and Japan – their former colonial powers.

It did not take long for the first signs of trouble to appear of how such tourism enclaves were impacting the lives of people in these newly created destinations. The intense resource usage by tourism establishments, the resultant

environmental pollution, widened income inequalities and socio-cultural effects are some of the adverse impacts that emerged and have been associated with tourism enclaves around the world. Economically, these enclaves were exploitative of the region's natural and labour resources but ended being non-remunerative as communities waited endlessly for some part of what tourists spent on their holidays to 'trickle down' to them. Nothing symbolises the impact of enclavisation in tourism better than the case of the infamous Zona Hotelera in Cancun – an artificial creation that transformed a sleepy settlement of fisherfolk and coconut farmers into a banker's dream of 30000 rooms. Between 1971 and 1993, Mexico was granted seven loans for large-scale tourism projects totalling 457.5 million USD. In 1973, FONATUR – the national trust fund for tourism development was set up to oversee the development of large –scale tourism projects across the country and to aggressively seek foreign and domestic investors as well as secure development loans from international institutions such as the IDB and World Bank.

In the recent past, these experiences have helped highlight the adverse impacts of enclavisation in tourism. But sadly, even with this enlightenment, enclavisation has not stopped but has only assumed new forms and found new locations. But what is important to consider from the historical experience is that the process of enclavisation in tourism needs a strong economic impetus and a conducive social climate or impetus that demands for such leisure products.

Enclavisation of Tourism: India's Earlier Experiences and how the SEZ Policy Provides Fresh Impetus

The concept of identifying specific exclusive areas/zones for intensive tourism development is not new in India. It was first introduced in the National Tourism Policy of 1992 through Special Tourism Areas (STAs). When the STA policy was proposed in 1992, some of the identified locations were Bekal (Kerala), Sindhudurg (Maharashtra), Diu, Kancheepuram and Mahabalipuram (both Tamil Nadu). The proposal never took off, probably due to a lack of the necessary economic impetus from the central and state governments. But in some identified areas like Bekal and Sindhudurg, where the government went all out to implement the policy, communities resisted vociferously. Despite the fact that the government's STA policy did not have the intended impact, tourism enclaves nonetheless began developing spontaneously and organically in places like Goa and Kovalam in Kerala. In these cases, enclavisation was a result of the socio-cultural identity that was given to these places as free-for-all tourist destinations, economic incentives that were given to boost tourism and especially private investment and a rising domestic and international tourist segment.

It is important to learn from the historical experiences of some of these locations on what have been the experiences of local communities in those potential STAs.

Let us take the case of Bekal in Kerala and Sindhudurg in Maharashtra. The long-term objective of the government converting the entire Konkan coastal belt into a tourism hub was reflected in the choice of places like Bekal and Sindhudurg that border the Konkan coast, with Goa being right in the centre. Large-scale infrastructure projects like the Konkan Railway and Mangalore Airport were seen to facilitate the movement of tourist traffic. In Bekal, a total area of 1000 acres with 11 km. of beach stretch was acquired through a 'single window clearance' mechanism with an initial investment of 1000 crores for development of the STA. The plan was to construct an International Tourist Village in Bekal– a resort of international standards that was to cater to the needs of foreign tourists with facilities like adventure sports, golf courses and tennis courts³. For the project to become a reality, 30000 farming and fishing families covering four fishing panchayats would have been rendered homeless and would have lost traditional livelihood⁴. A writ appeal petition was filed in the Kerala High court in 1995 highlighting that the project was being planned and pushed ahead with the greatest of secrecy; it would violate coastal zone regulation, had not complied with necessary Environmental Impact Assessment and superseded the rights of the panchayats. Following sustained struggles by the affected communities on the ground supported by larger campaigns against this project, it was finally withdrawn.

In Sindhudurg, a stretch of land of 84 kms in length and 1 km in width, situated on the south Konkan coast belt was identified by the central government to be an STA. Large acres of agricultural land were acquired by the government for the construction of 5 star hotels, resorts and the proposed Oros Airport. Tourism development model in the region was to cater specifically to the needs of foreign tourists with the sole intention of bringing in foreign exchange. The image of Sindhudurg as a 'foreign tourist destination' has not only made it completely inaccessible to domestic tourists due to its ultra – expensive nature but also has gradually adulterated its socio – cultural ethos. Tourism activities have caused the displacement of locals from areas like Mithabao, Tarkali, Shiroda and Malwan giving rise to anti – tourism protests and demonstrations in many places. In both the cases, the project failed to understand the ethos and concerns of the local community with respect to issues related to livelihood, the environmental degradation

to the region and cultural erosion. The only motive behind the project was generating greater revenue and creating a tourist hub on the lines of Goa.

But what makes the development of tourism through SEZs and STZs much more inimical than any previous government policy is the combination of the economic incentives that the SEZ policy has outlined the already unregulated and imbalanced structure of India's tourism economy and the transforming socio-cultural processes within urban India that are making specific demands on leisure and tourism products.

SEZs, STZs and Tourism

While the country was already witnessing vibrant and widespread protests against the SEZ Act 2005, the National Tourism Advisory Council (NTAC), a think tank under the Ministry of Tourism (MoT) meant to advise it on policy issues, floated in November 2006 the proposal of establishing Special Tourism Zones (STZs) on the lines of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) to boost tourism and increase investment, employment and infrastructure in the country⁵.

NTAC's proposal to MoT suggested that⁶:

- STZs are to be located in tourist destinations, cities, along the coastline
- Government should provide single window clearance for setting up of these zones
- 100% tax exemption for a period of 10 years
- Each STZ should be able to provide 2,000 to 3,000 hotel rooms.
- Facilities for shopping, entertainment
- Exemption from import duty on capital goods
- Withdrawal of luxury tax, lower VAT etc.
- Exclusive NRI tourism zones or elite world tourist zones for high-end global tourists

It is that with these incentives, private investors would come flocking to STZs resulting in improved infrastructure (i.e. improved even beyond infrastructure in existing SEZs), increased economic activities (i.e. providing an enabling environment like hotels, amusement parks, entertainment facilities, shopping malls for business to thrive) and creation of jobs for the "dependent communities" in the STZ area.

The recently released report of the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) – Bharat Nirman Plus: Unlocking Rural India's Growth Potential, a report prepared by McKinsey & Company for CII (which was presented to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in June 2007) talks about a series of actions and steps to unlock the potential of rural India. **In particular, it proposes that the central government should establish a National Special Tourism Zones Authority that identifies areas as Special Tourism Zones (STZs) and enacts a policy to facilitate their establishment and reform.** Further, it suggests **a series of policy reforms in five key areas** namely power, water, agriculture, wastelands, and **tourism** at the central and state level and it urges Panchayats and local community organisations to capture opportunities created by the central and state.⁷ Cashing in on this policy initiative and the blitzkrieg approval that the Commerce Ministry has been giving to SEZs, the last 18 months have seen many state governments initiating plans to either set up specific STZs or develop tourism within SEZs. Some of the important proposals have been:

Kerala

In Kerala, the Malabar region, high ranges and Wayanad belt are being proposed for STZs where the stress would be on tourism-related infrastructure development⁸.

Delhi and Haryana

In Delhi, the proposed Commonwealth Games Village is being developed as an STZ. As early as 2004, the PHD Chamber of Commerce (PHDCCI) had submitted a proposal to the Delhi government asking for STZ status for the 250-acre games village as a 'one-stop shop' for all tourists into Delhi. The government estimates that demand for hotel rooms during the CWG is likely to touch 80000. Neighbouring Haryana has also been asked to provide land in Faridabad and Gurgaon areas to build hotels that can cater to the demand during the Games. Haryana is also planning to set up another specific STZ along the 138km Kundli-Manesar-Palwal (KMP) highway that is being built around the National Capital Region.

Maharashtra

The Gorai-Manori-Uttan area of Maharashtra has been proposed for a specific Tourism and Entertainment SEZ⁹. The Subhash Chandra promoted Essel Group, which is the developer of this 1000-hectare plan, will invest Rs 500 crore in developing the zone that promises to be Disneyland, Hollywood and Las Vegas rolled into one¹⁰. The land for the venture has been identified near Essel's already existing amusement park near Mumbai.

The tourism infrastructure company, Indian Tourism Infrastructure (ITIL) has drawn-up ambitious plans to create two tourism SEZs in Manadargarh and Sindhudurg. Each SEZ will be spread over 1000 acres of land and will have international standard convention centre and 30 hotels with a total of 20,000 rooms. They have also applied for permission to run a casino.¹¹ The same group has also bought 730 acres of land at Lonavala and has drawn up a blueprint to create a second 'Venice' which will be a township of canals, and boats will be the only means of transport.¹²

Himachal Pradesh

In May 2006, the Himachal Pradesh government gave its nod to a \$250 million tourism-cum-skiing project promoted by Alfred Ford, near the popular resort town of Manali in the high mountains of the Kullu valley, some 280 km from Shimla. The project was described as the largest foreign domestic investment (FDI) in the tourism sector in the country. Work was scheduled to start on the project later that year and was expected to be completed in three years. The investment was expected to take place in three stages, company officials said. The company planned to build 700 five-star rooms, 300 Swiss villas, 2,420 food court-type restaurant seats and a handicrafts village after acquiring the entire village. The base park was proposed to hold 1,000 vehicles and a high-tech gondola to ferry 500 passengers every hour to an altitude of 14,000 feet above sea level. The Colorado-based architect Jack Zehren was reportedly hired to design the resort to merge with the local traditional Himalayan architecture of wood and stone houses with slated roofs.¹³ Chief Minister Virbhadra Singh supported the project saying it was for the development of Himachal Pradesh. According to him, it would lead to more global parties investing in the state, increasing the employment potential of locals and have a ripple effect on the state's economy through tourism.

SEZs and Tourism

In fact, the potential for tourism-related activities being high in all SEZs and not only STZs, this will have a high-compounded effect on local communities. This is because according to the SEZ Act and the Special Economic Zone Rules 2006 (to be referred as Rule), only 25% (as per the new proposal in case of IT services or SEZ for special products the limit is 35%) of the total area in any SEZ need be statutorily used for developing and setting up of industrial/ manufacturing units for the designated purpose for which the SEZ was created. The rest of the land can be used for developing infrastructure where 'infrastructure' according to the same Rule includes 'social amenities' like roads, housing, hospitals, hotels, leisure, and recreation and entertainment facilities (emphasis added). The tourism industry has already begun to make full use of this opportunity and is in the process of building tourism projects, resorts and other establishments within already existing or upcoming SEZs¹⁴. The nature of leisure and entertainment tourism likely to be promoted within STZs and SEZs is not in forms where communities will be benefited or can participate.

Mukesh Ambani-led Reliance Industries Ltd signed a pact with the Haryana government to develop India's largest special economic zone in over 25,000 acres at a cost of Rs. 400 billion (nearly \$9 billion). It will come up near National Highway 8 in Gurgaon – a satellite township off the capital of Haryana – and would extend to Jhajar district adjacent to the proposed Kundli-Manesar-Palwal expressway. About five percent of the area is being earmarked for leisure and recreation. 'A possible tie-up with Disney, Time Warner or Universal could be undertaken. A golf course will also be set up in this special zone.¹⁵ Hospitality and leisure destinations, educational institutions, offshore banking and insurance, medical tourism figure high on the priority list of the special zone, officials added.

The Bangalore city-based Century Building Industries Pvt. Ltd has charted out a plan to set up a special economic zone (SEZ) for facilitating the establishment of educational, health and hospitality infrastructure. The SEZ would also have a foreign investor as partner. The SEZ, planned on a 2,500-acre land, will come up near the proposed Bangalore International Airport, off Devanahalli Road. According to Mr Pai, the representative of the company the Century group was also engaged in developing hotels with a 75-room new three-star hotel planned in the city.¹⁶

In Bangalore the Karnataka government is spending 20,000 crores for setting up 6 Bangalore SEZs and many prominent corporates and developers have decided to invest on SEZ in Bangalore. To enhance the environment of investment in the city the government plans to enhance connectivity by road, rail and air. The road projects across

Bangalore and its outskirts include a four-lane stretch of 74-km Kundapur-Suratkal the 85-km Bangalore-Mulbagal road; the six-lane road between K R Puram and Hoskote; a four-lane 157-km Nelamangala-Hassan road; and a 131-km peripheral ring road, critical to decongesting the city. Moreover, with more investment into the city there has been dearth in lodging facilities in the hospitality sector. Therefore, approximately 7.0 million square feet of commercial space is likely to be absorbed this fiscal year (2005-06) in this sector and Bangalore is expected to have, 27 new hotels, serviced apartments and mixed-use developments with approximately 6,100 rooms in various segments over the next few years.¹⁷

The New Enclaves of Tourism in India?

The fundamental feature and flaw of the SEZ policy is that it seeks to create enclaves of investment, growth and prosperity. Therefore "enclavisation" is inherent in the SEZ policy and this applies as well to STZs and any tourism development that takes place within SEZs. But to get a more comprehensive picture of the enclavisation of tourism that will take place through this policy let us examine some characteristic features and commonalities of these tourism proposals:

- They all require high investment and are infrastructure heavy making high demands on air, road connectivity and natural resources like land, water and power
- All such STZs are adopting Urban Imaging Strategies to seduce the tourist. Urban imaging processes include the development of a critical mass of visitor attractions and facilities, including new buildings/flagship centres/shopping malls, stadia, sports complexes, convention centres and the hosting of hallmark events. Urban imaging strategies are therefore conscious efforts by places to seduce. In particular, not only do they seek to develop something which is attractive, but in doing so they aim to package specific representations of a particular way of life or lifestyle of consumption. The tourism products/facilities coming up in these STZs exemplify this feature through the creation of massive accommodation complexes, shopping malls, convention halls, amusement parks, ski-villages, golf courses, recreating "Disney lands" and "Venices" that are culturally incongruous and environmentally damaging¹⁸.
- They are located in suburbs, small townships or rural stretches that are near guaranteed sources of tourists i.e. big cities like Bangalore, Delhi, Mumbai or are already part of a standard tourist itinerary (as in the case of Himachal and Kerala)

These characteristics indicate that STZs are coming up to cater to a very specific segment of people namely business travellers and domestic tourists mainly from big metros. The location, nature of products being developed all point in this direction. It is therefore clear that the impetus for developing tourism through STZs and in SEZs comes from the economic processes that the country is witnessing which includes the increasing visitation by foreign business representatives and the burgeoning disposable incomes of the middle class in big metros that is creating a demand for easy and accessible leisure options.

In this light, as the objective of such tourism development itself is only to cater to the leisure needs of specific segments of the population, and the model is thoroughly enclavised, there is little benefit that such tourism will bring to local communities. On the contrary, the cost of such a form of tourism is indeed going to be high.

Impacts of Tourism Development through STZs and SEZs

- Valorising of the region as a "tourism destination" – in each of these STZ proposals, the intent is clear of valorising and branding the developed area as a tourism zone. Thus the primary identity of Gorai, Manali, all of the villages being swallowed up in the Commonwealth Games Village is to be as "tourism zones"
- Land grab by STZs and induced displacement – it is now well accepted that tourism has also contributed to the process of land-induced displacement in this country. STZs propose to provide tourism developers with land at subsidized rates on lease for 15 years as per the SEZ model. While it might seem that the land requirements for tourism activities are not high, this is not true. The tourism and entertainment SEZ in Gorai-Manori is acquiring 1000 hectares, the Delhi Commonwealth Games Village STZ requires 250 acres and the Harayana government's planned Tourism Economic Zone in Gurgaon to build "Disneyland" is going to grab huge tracts of land as well although no official figure on size of this project has yet been quoted. Further, STZs are coming up in coastal and hilly stretches where communities are dependent on natural resources like the coast and forests for livelihoods. The nature of displacement that these tourism project would induce would not only being that of direct physical displacement in the take-over of land by the project but also indirectly the loss of access to natural resources that such projects would bring along. A report of National

Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), dated Feb 2007 has indicted that the much-hyped SEZs in and around Bangalore, which are aimed at triggering economic development, will come as a nightmare to thousands of poor Dalit families in Karnataka, according to an expert at the Bangalore University. Jogan Shankar, Director of the Babasaheb Ambedkar Research Institute, says that the SEZ's would result in a sizeable number of Dalits in Karnataka losing their agricultural lands, which had been given to them by the Government some time ago to provide them social and economic security under a welfare scheme

- **Employment:** What meaningful employment, which is high-end and skill-based can local communities currently living in tourism areas hope for, in shopping malls, amusement parks, spas and luxury business hotels? In an industry that is already biased against local community/ unskilled labour, STZs will only increase the division without integrating capacity-building measures. Generally, it is observed that the employment opportunities have also been limited to low-end jobs like housekeeping and support services like cleaning, gardening, security and the occasional guide services, except in cases where developers have taken special effort to build capacity of the local communities on skills and language¹⁹. There is growing evidence that labour laws and regulation are being significantly diluted by many state governments to benefit “unhindered and even unaccountable” SEZ growth in the country. This too has relevance for tourism, as there are significant issues of labour rights and protection like contract labour, wages of working hours, gender disparity and discrimination, child labour (which is particularly high in hotels and restaurant sector) and even sexual exploitation that arise in tourism and need formal redress within labour laws. If STZs are to be a leading model for tourism development, there is even less possibility of these issues being addressed. STZs, in fact, are likely to shrink the space for the organised working class. The fate of the large sections of informal and unorganised labour sector, those employed in the tourism industry is thus likely to become even more pitiable.
- **Environmental impacts** – the location, size and components within STZs are high cause for concern on the environmental fall-outs of these projects. Further, as per the SEZ Act, none of the sections lays down that environmental regulations are applicable on the units within SEZ. Rather the wordings in Section 49 and the SEZ rules categorically state that SEZ areas are outside the purview of the environmental regulations of the country. There are no provisions for monitoring the cumulative environmental impacts of all units coming under one SEZ or periodic review of the ecological effects of functioning of these industries in such zones. Further, large-scale services related activities like tourism, lead to excessive use of water, increased deforestation and environmental pollution in these areas without any regulatory blanket. With respect to STZs, the matter is even more serious with the recent Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) Notification 2006 excluding tourism projects from the requirement of EIA clearances. Thus, the democratic spaces available to communities to decide on tourism development or voice their dissent /consent to projects under the available Environmental Clearance Regulations are not applicable to tourism industries. This change would bring a wider range of projects that are not directly tourism-based but related to it like shopping malls, entertainment facilities and amusements parks within the bracket of tourism to avail of this exemption.
- **Institutional hegemony and bypassing democratic processes** – One of the most critical aspects of the SEZ policy and cause for serious contention has been the institutional arrangements the Act has made and state governments have set in place to expedite the process of setting up of SEZs. The SEZ Act and its implementation are raising serious concerns about the phenomenon of centralization of power. It is clear that local institutions are going to be bypassed by the proposed “Single Window Clearance” mechanism, which is being stressed for all tourism infrastructure developments. Tourism benefits local communities only if activities undertaken are suited to their abilities, skills and priorities and takes into account regional specificities of ecology, culture and society. Transferring of power from local PRIs to Tourism Development Authorities in such zones as is happening in tourism intensive areas like Kerala and Hampi, Chilka Lake, and Kevadia (Gujarat) have huge implication to local communities participation in decision making on issues such as a control of natural resources like water and land (on which the tourism industry is highly dependent). Of further concern is the issue of substituting and prioritising tourism development plans over the general development plans in any area that is identified to be having tourism potential. The Kerala Conservation and Preservation of Tourism Areas Act 2005 is a case in point as it gives overriding powers to supra committees to declare areas as special tourism zones, usurping the existing constitutional powers of local bodies to prioritise plan and regulate developmental activities. The recommendation by the Working Group on Tourism in its report to the Planning Commission on the country's XI Five Year Plan to replicate such an Act in other states points to the growing tendency to centralise such decisions.

Campaign Efforts to oppose STZs and SEZs in India

- At the national level: the STZ proposal has been seriously contested by the civil society around the country urging the MoT, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Transport, Tourism and Culture and State Tourism Departments to seriously reconsider this proposal. Under mounting pressure the Minister of Tourism in her statement in the Parliament and letter to the Chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Transport, Tourism and Culture stated that that STZs had only come up as a matter of recommendation from the NTAC and that the Ministry was yet to take any decision with regard to STZs. However, that by no means implied that the matter has been settled. The recent ventures by the state governments are a clear indication that STZs have not been abandoned but are now being pressed and promoted by the state governments in different forms.
- At the local level: In Gorai, the local community has taken serious opposition to the coming up of the SEZ. The Gorai Bachao Sangharsh Samiti Committee has been spreading awareness among the local community on the potential implications of the tourism SEZ in the region. Residents are anxious that Gorai's mangroves and beaches will be destroyed once tourists start arriving. Gorai village residents, all fourth generation fishermen or farmers second this view²⁰. In Himachal, the ski village project has been opposed by the local community. They fear that the ski village would pollute the local culture and sacred spots on hilltops which belonged to the deities and the traditional lifestyle of villagers in the locality would be affected with the project that would attract a large number of tourists from abroad. Besides, the Jan Jagran Manch (JJM), Kullu, which is opposing the project along with the local community, has stepped up its campaign against the project and have threatened to file a public interest litigation against the project in the high court. According to the locals who are opposing the project since it was floated way back in 2005, say the project would spell disaster in the area as hotels and chalets would be sold to outsiders that would ruin the fragile ecology.²¹

Concluding Remarks:

- As has been the case with how tourism enclaves started off historically, in India the setting up of STZs is the result of the strong economic impetus being given to the industry and the need that modern professional life of a certain portion of the country's working class has created for leisure. This is coupled with the availability of disposable incomes that can be expended on leisure options and the economic incentives for investment that the SEZ policy has provided
- The very intent behind creation of STZs being an easy leisure outlet for a certain segment of population when weighed against the costs that these enclaves are bound to have on identity, culture, ethos, environment and livelihoods and political rights of communities living in these areas is the primary and strongest reason for opposing them.
- The identity and raison d'être of a place cannot be tourism, communities cannot be converted to hosts, and tourism cannot be allowed to dictate the overall development process in any area. It can only be one of the factors in the development and economic process and cannot be given such overriding powers. Any such policy move calls for an intense public consultation and debate with the local people and their representatives.

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Contact us

info@equitabletourism.org

+91-80-2545-7607 / 2545-7659

EQUATIONS, # 415, 2C-Cross, 4th Main, OMBR Layout, Banaswadi, Bangalore 560043, India

www.equitabletourism.org

End Notes

1 This paper has been jointly authored by Ananya Dasgupta and Vidya Rangan. It was presented at the 5th International Critical Geographies Conference, December 2007, Mumbai and has been published in the Nov-Dec 2007 issue of Third World Resurgence (No # 207/208) on "Rethinking Tourism: An engine for Third World Development?" Visit <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title2/resurgence/twr207-208.htm> . This paper also draws substantially from an earlier advocacy paper

by EQUATIONS titled "Se(i)zing India! Why the government should reconsider tourism development through SEZs and STZs", November 2006.

2 Law and Cartier define the term "touristed landscapes" as places that are leisure-oriented, places that promise escape from daily life – for a week, day, or even an hour – as they exist in our areas of residence and our regions of work, as well as more distant destinations.

3 The Bekal Resorts Development Corporation (BRDC) brochure, states the 'Bekal Game Plan' as follows – 'Identify, acquire and develop potential resort sites, strengthen infrastructure through roads, power, water supply and sewage systems, invite promoters and investors and market Bekal as an international destination'.

4 Bekal Tourism Project: An SOS call EQUATIONS ANLetter Volume II Issue 4 November 96

5 Refer "Borrowing SEZ idea, Centre starts working on Special Tourism Zones", 7th November 2006, Indian Express, New Delhi.

6 Id. 2

7 Refer "CII Report Presented To The Prime Minister :**"India Needs Bharat Nirman Plus for Inclusive Growth"** 01 June, 2007 http://cii.in/full_story.php?menu_id=78&news_id=74

8 Refer "Special tourism zones would boost Kerala's economy", 20th September 06, www.domain-b.com
http://www.domain-b.com/industry/tourism/20060920_zones.html

9 As taken from the Mumbai City Development Plan (CDP), 'the scope of this project could easily extend to establishment of an Entertainment SEZ, with focus on tourism and entertainment. This is based on the fact that substantial potential exists in Mumbai in the form of entertainment industry and the film and television industry. The exports potential in the entertainment sector has been growing and this needs to be tapped and supported through the SEZ. Particularly the animation film industry has potential for development in SEZ'

10 Refer "Chandra pitches for gaming SEZ", Business Standard, 14th March 2006.

11 Refer "ITIL to develop tourism SEZ", Express Hospitality, September 16-30th 2007.

12 Ibid

13 Refer "Himalayan ski village project goes to Ford", 25 May 2006, <http://www.gujaratlive.com/viewnews.asp?newsid=814&id=241>
also refer to "It's God vs. man over ski resort", Saturday, 18 February 2006, Jyoti Kamal, CNN-IBN, Updated 0911 hrs IST (+GMT 5:30), 18.02.06 http://www.humanrightskerala.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1389&Itemid=4

14 For instance, real-estate giant DLF is tying up with hotel-major Hilton to build hotels across the country for its SEZ business. In line, DLF has already signed a MoU with the Punjab government for an 11000 multi-product SEZ at Amritsar and two others at Ambala and Gurgaon. Refer "DLF likely to tie up with Hilton", Business news of Construction, <http://news.jimtrade.com/200606/1535.htm>

15 Refer "Reliance Inks Pact for \$9 billion Special Zone in Haryana" 19th June 2006, Business Monday, Punjab, India, <http://www.indiaenews.com/business/20060619/11934.htm>

16 Refer "Century Building plans to set up SEZ", Business Line, Bangalore, 15.12.06

17 Refer "Bangalore (Bengaluru) In Future", http://www.indianground.com/bangalore/bangalore_in_future.aspx

18 Interestingly, in China, more than 150 billion Yuan (Pound sterling 10 billion) has been invested in about 2500 theme parks in China. Of these, 70 percent are in debt, 20 percent in balance and only 10 percent in profit. Changing market demand for freshness, curiosity and strangeness require them to renovate and replace their facilities and create an image to stay young and reach a new climax, Sui Fabo, Director China National Ride Inspection Group said in a speech to the International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions 2005 (The Final Call pps 198). The failure of Disney Paris and Hong Kong are cases in point and the company is on the prowl for new pastures.

19 Refer "A WTO-GATS-Tourism Impact Assessment Framework for Developing Countries", EQUATIONS and EED, October 2005.

20 "Should Gorai be a tourist destination?", Janaki Fernandes, March 2005

21 Refer "Threat to file PIL against ski village", Kuldeep Chauhan, Tribune News Service, <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2007/20070417/himachal.htm#6>